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THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

INTERJECTIONS.

In respect to these, we need only give a list of those that are in common use. 104

Oiáo! exclamation of surprise. (This is a word of four syllables.)
Seoóke! of surprise or astonishment; the *oe* is dwelt long upon.
Seookéé! Seookéle! Oiáoé! Of pity, pain, or distress; dwelling very long upon the *é*.
Oiáoo! the same as above; dwelling long upon the *oo* as well as the *a*.
Awi! of pity, pain.
Wóí! of wonder.
Wi! of disgust; fye!
Isa! of anger, vexation, and rage; dwelling long upon the *i*.
Tangi mōōni! a sort of oath; solemnly declaring the truth.
Fiamo-aloo! begone; out of my sight.
Né-né! no wonder.
Io! yes indeed; well.
O'oea! further; softly.

NUMERALS.

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1 taha.	10 ongofooloo, or oloo.
2 oua.	20 oua ongofooloo, or oafooloo.
3 toloo.	30 toloo ongofooloo.
4 fa.	40 fa ongofooloo.
5 nima.	50 nima ongofooloo.
6 ono.	60 ono ongofooloo. A
7 fitoo.	70 fito ongofooloo. A
8 valoo.	80 valoo ongofooloo.
9 hiva.	90 hiva ongofooloo.
100 téíoo.	1000 afe.
200 oua gnéíoo.	2000 oua afe.
300 toloo gnéíoo.	3000 toloo afe.
400 fa gnéíoo.	4000 fa afe.
10,000 mano.	20,000 oafooloo mano.
11,000 mano mo afe.	30,000 toloo ongofooloo mano.
12,000 mano mo oua afe.	40,000 fa ongofooloo mano.
13,000 mano mo toloo afe.	100,000 giloo.

In respect to further combinations of these numbers, they run thus:

11 ongofooloo ma taha.	21 oafooloo ma taha.
12 ongofooloo ma oua.	22 oafooloo ma oua.
13 ongofooloo ma toloo.	31 toloo ongofooloo ma taha.
14 ongofooloo ma fa.	41 fa ongofooloo ma taha.

[p. 369]

A [Errata: this should read "70 fitoo ongofooloo." Cf. errata sheet, p. 492, category 116--Analyst]

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101 teaco ma taha.	1001 afe ma taha.
120 teaco ma ocafooloo.	1100 afe ma tŭăco.
121 teaco ma ocafooloo ma taha.	1800 afe ma vaco gnĕăco.

95,741 *Hina mano, ma nima afe, ma fitoo gnŭăco, ma fa ongofooloo, ma taha*: that is, nine ten-thousands, and five thousand, and seven hundred, and four tens, and one *.

It must be observed, that there are two words for ten, viz. *ongofooloo* and *ooloo*, which may be used indifferently for that number simply; but in combinations the former only can be adopted. For *twenty* there are also two words, viz. *oua ongofooloo*, and *ocafooloo*, either of which may be employed in combination with the digits. In regard to the number of a hundred, *tŭăco*, it is never used in the plural, *gnŭăvo* being substituted for it: thus, 200 cannot be expressed by *oua tŭăco*, but *oua gnĕdoo*.

In counting out yams and fish, they reckon by pairs, in the particular method explained in the Vocabulary under the word *teeoo*.

What are called ordinal numbers they express by putting the article *he* immediately before the number: this indeed is one mode of forming the plural (see NOUNS) thus, *aho e toloo*, or *aho he tolooo*, means the third day, whilst it also signifies three days: but the sense in most instances sufficiently points out the distinction.

In connecting cardinal words by the conjunction *and*, they generally use the word *ma* instead of *mo*, except before *afe*, a thousand, when *mo* is more commonly used. The conjunction *ma* is, however, never employed but for connecting numbers: on other occasions this word is either the preposition *for*, or the name of a certain preparation of food.

It may appear strange that they have particular names for such high numbers as 10,000 and 100,000, *mano*, and *gilee*, for they certainly have no use for them. They often have occasion to count yams to the number of a thousand, or more, and sometimes to the amount of two or three thousand, but never higher. M. Labillardiere, however, has had the perseverance to interrogate the natives, and obtain particular names for numbers as high as 1,000,000,000,000,000!! Here, however, he has overshot the mark, and instead of names of numbers, has only furnished us with names of things very remote from his speculations at that time: for 1,000,000 he gives us *manoo*, which has no meaning that we can discover; for 10,000,000 *laoolai*, which should be *lowde* (according to our spelling), which means the præputium; for 100,000,000 *laomoua* (low mou), which means *nonsense*: 1,000,000,000 *liuguee*, which we take for *liagi*, and is the name of a game played with the hands, with which probably he made signs; for

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* Their capability of expressing such high numbers in this decimal mode appears to be suspected by some readers; but we ought to reflect, that a people who are in the frequent habit of counting out yams, &c. to the amount of one, two, or three thousand, must become tolerably good numerators, by finding out some method of rendering the task of counting more easy.

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10,000,000,000 *tolo tafai* (tole ho fáe), for which see the Vocabulary: 104
1,000,000,000,000, *lingha* (linga) see the Vocabulary: for a higher number 802
they give him *nana* (the glans penis); for a still higher number, *kaimaau* (ky 114
ma ow), by which they tell him to eat up the things which they have just been naming to him: but M. Labillardiere was not probably the first subject of this sort of Tonga wit, which is very common with them. In the other numbers he is tolerably correct, except in putting *gilao* for *mano*, and *mano* for *gilao*: his general accuracy in respect to the numbers does him great credit.

SYNTAX.

To enter minutely into this subject, according to the usual form of gram- 193
mars, would perhaps tend rather to perplex the memory than to assist the judgment: for we are not treating of a language the rules of which have been before systematically investigated, and written down; we are at present only in the act of making an investigation, in which the reader is requested to accompany us *. General rules have already been given under each part of speech, we shall now therefore merely furnish a few other observations in regard to construction, and give a few of the more difficult idioms of speech; and in order that the reader may be better enabled to construe the ensuing specimens of composition, and thereby arrive at the genius of the language, a strictly literal translation will be adjoined to each.

1. In the first place, it must be noticed, that the tenses of verbs are often confounded; the future is frequently used for the present, and the present for the past; thus, *I do not know* is rendered in Tonga by *iky' teoo iloa*, literally, *I shall not know*. The present tense is generally used for the past, when the action spoken of happened not long before.

2. The future tense is also often used to express *should*, *would*, likewise *can*, *could*: thus, *iky' teoo aloo*, I cannot go; *capów teenne aloo*, if he should go.

3. When the future tense is used to express can, could, would, should, &c. and the negative is connected with it; the latter always comes immediately before the sign of the tense *te*. It must also be observed, that in this application of the future, the second class of personal pronouns (or those which follow verbs, and may be Englished by *myself*, *thyself*, &c.) may either be used or not, in addition to those that come before the verb: note also, that in this form of the future the third person singular is always *teenne*, &c.: for example.

Iky' teoo aloo (*gi'a*); I can, could, would, or should not go.

Iky' tegger aloo (*coy*); thou canst, wouldst, or shouldst not go.

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* Mr. Mariner of course only obtained a practical knowledge of the lan- [123]
guage, for the natives themselves have no other. I have depended upon him to furnish me with good composition, and upon this the whole of the present investigation is built.

[p. 371]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 825 231 152 **153. Hangē ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck badly.

Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 825 231 183 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced name for cat, *pusi*, in which case the literal translation would probably be, Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain. The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe. [992] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 825 571 183 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 825 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always [802] found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for [829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 825 571 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato*.

The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown[2] and Pratt[3] give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuita are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

Humu moe Toloa	Humu and Toloa
To hono fuji pea vaoa:	Plant their plantain and overgrown with bush:
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji.	And Fiji dog runs hither,
Tali fanaia, hala he vae, tau he ate.	His reception is being shot, missed in the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus Balistes, and also the name of a clus-

[2] Brown, George, Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 348. London, 1910.
[3] Op. cit.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

802

FISH.

1 is *mata* or *taha.*
2 is *uagamata.*
3 is *tolugamata.*
4 is *fagamata.*
5 is *nimagamata.*
6 is *tolugahoa.*
7 is *tolugahoa matelau.*
8 is *fagahoa.*
9 is *fagahoa matelau.*
10 is *nimagahoa,* and so on.
19 is *hivagahoa matelau.*
20 is *kauika.*

It will be observed that from six on the counting has been by pairs, and that *kauika* is 10 pairs of fish, and it will be clearer to write it so.

10 pairs is *kau-ika.*
20 pairs is *uagakau.*
30 pairs is *tolugakau,* and so on, *fagakau, nimagakau,* etc.
100 pairs, i.e., 10 *kau,* is *tefuhi.*
200 pairs, i.e., 20 *kau,* is *uagofuhi.*
300 pairs, i.e., 30 *kau, is tolugofuhi,* and so on, *fagofuhi, nimagofuhi, onogofuhi,* etc.
1000 pairs, i.e., 10 *tefuhi,* or 100 *kau,* is *teau.*
2000 pairs is *uageau.*
3000 pairs is *tolugeau,* and so on, *fageau, nimageau,* etc.
10,000 pairs, i.e., 10 *teau,* 100 *tefuhi,* or 1000 *kau,* is *taha afe.*

YAMS.

1 is *taha.*
2 is *uagasino.*
3 is *tolugasino.*
4 is *fagasino.*
5 is *nimagasino.*
6 is *tolugahoa,* and then the counting goes on as with the fish (with the omission, of course, of the word *ika,* fish, where it occurs in the preceding list).

These examples will serve to illustrate the method of counting other things, e.g., lengths of thatch, although different articles may have a few characteristic words, intimating to the initiated what the particular thing is that is being counted.

Although the counting by pairs does not commence in these examples until the third pair, yet counting throughout by pairs seems to be the common practice, and one informant, in describing the counting of yams, started straight off with *taha gahoa,* one pair, *uagahoa,* two pairs, and so on. This would seem to be the real everyday practice, though the purist may probably be right in maintaining that the counting of the five individuals should precede the counting by pairs. Even well-informed people in Tonga, as elsewhere, may be hard put to it to explain the exact rationale of familiar practice.

A point in actual ceremonial counting is worthy of note. Presentations of food, etc., are counted in the presence of the assemblage. [184] Baskets of food are set out in orderly rows, and a man goes along the rows, touching and counting the baskets—the Tu'i Tonga people have a different method of touching the baskets from all others. The

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

802 counter calls aloud: "One, two, three," and so on up to ten, when a second man rises, holding a staff, and calls: "One." Then the counter goes on with the second ten, "One, two, three," and so on till the second ten is completed, when the man with the staff calls: "Two." So it goes on, the first man counting the individuals in groups of ten, the second man keeping the tally of tens, till one hundred, ten tens, is reached, when the second man calls "One hundred," and a third man jumps up and calls "One." The second hundred is counted in the same way as the first by the same two men, and when it is completed the third man, who has been silent meanwhile, calls "Two." If the number be so great that the tenth hundred is completed, the third man, he who keeps the tally of hundreds, calls "One thousand," and a fourth man joins in, and says "One," and it will be his task to keep the tally of the thousands.

PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

128 Since the publication of *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1922) several other sayings have been collected, and are now added as supplementary to the previous collection.

539 195 539 1. *E taha ha lau, tagi ki he ba'a, tagi ki he fanua.* What a lot of talk, cry to be barren, cry to have children. Used of one whose complaints and requests are incompatible, who is never satisfied, but always wants something different. The saying is attributed to Maui Kisikisi, who, when his mother complained of his idleness, set to work digging so vigorously that he shook the whole island of Eua, whereupon his mother complained of the dangerous disturbance he was creating. Maui expressed his exasperation in this saying, and flung his digging-stick far from him. Where the digging-stick struck the earth it scooped out into a huge hole, and out through the cliff-face into the sea, making an archway through the solid rock, all of which the unbeliever may see for himself on the weather coast of Eua.

539 195 [821] [753] 2. *'Oku 'ikai ke tuhu'i 'e ha taha 'ae umata.* One does not point at the rainbow. To point at the rainbow causes a swelling of the limb wherewith the pointing is done. Even to-day children are taught by their parents not to point at the rainbow.

3. *'Oku lava 'aé Tu'i Toga.* The Tu'i Tonga is garbed ceremonially *(lava)*. This seems to indicate what is of so great importance that even the Tu'i Tonga takes note of it.

[825] 4. *Be kuo lulu mai mai be kuo kalae mai?* Does he come an owl or a rail? The meaning is: "Does he come full-handed or empty-handed?" it being held that when the owl comes he usually brings something with him, whereas the rail does not.

5. *Fakaloyo ki kafa.* Obeying, judging by, cord. The idea is that of a vessel dropped down a deep well, attached to a cord. The drawer of water cannot see when the vessel is full, but judges by the feel of the cord when it has reached the water, and when it is full. Figuratively the expression indicates sounding, feeling about, for information of that which is uncertain, out of sight.

6. *Futa kaunahu.* Pride (through the) mat-edge. This is an expression from the game of *lafo*. The *kaunahu* is the raised edge, or

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 574 576 643 565 [604] of a woman,[5] and is *fahu* to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cup which goes to him is *kava he*, wandering *kava*.

It is said of the Ha'a Ngata tupu that they did not join the *alofi*, but that it was their duty to guard the *kava*-making for the king. There is, however, a man named Tolo, belonging to this house who drinks in the king's *kava* party. He was brought to drink of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*.

276 574 643 802 Before any *kava* is prepared for drinking presentations of food and *kava* are brought and placed before the king and chiefs. These are arranged in orderly rows, pigs, yams, etc., and *kava*, so as to be easily viewed. Motu'apuaka directs that they be counted. This is done by a man who walks along the rows of baskets, touching each in turn and counting in a loud voice. When he reaches ten a second man jumps up, holding a staff, and calls "one"; the first man continues counting to twenty, when the second man shouts "two," and so on up to one hundred, when the second man calls "ten," and a third man gets up, holding a staff, and shouts "one." So they go on, the first man actually counting, the second keeping count of the tens, and the third of the hundreds. Should the number of baskets go into the thousands a fourth man would join in. When the counting is finished the result is formally announced, so many pigs (distinguished by the way they are prepared and brought, which is some indication of size), so many plants, roots and bundles of *kava* (also distinguished by the way in which they are brought and size), so many baskets of yams, and perhaps other details are mentioned.

276 574 643 Then the presiding *matapule*, Motu'apuaka, orders the *toua* to be put in order, *fakalelei 'ae toua*, and all who do not belong to the *alofi* sit closely grouped in the *toua*. Motu'apuaka bids *kava* be brought, specifying what kind, i.e., what size of plant. This is brought within the circle, and placed at the *toua* end in front of the man who is to prepare the beverage. His place is in the middle of the front of the *toua*, directly opposite, and facing, the king. The *kava* is laid before him with the root toward him and the branches turned away. A man then loosens and divides the root into big sections by striking it with a sharpened

[5] See Hocart., *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific.* American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ma'tangee	The wind
Gee'fai	Where
A'fai	When
+ 'Reta	Anger
+ 'Patoo	A stroke—To strike
+ A'faia	How many
'Koukou	To bathe
+ 'Loee, or Lohee	A lie
+ 'Monee	Truth
'Maha	Finished—at an end—Empty
'Aho	The dawn or day break
+ Le'laiee	Good
+ Kovee	Bad
+ La'langa	To make or fabricate
Mohe	To sleep.

Besides these we have been able to collect about six hundred of their words, amongst which are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand, beyond which they never would reckon and probably are not able, as after that they commonly us'd a word that expresses any indeterminate number.

The number of islands we have seen are but a small part of what these people know, for we have procur'd names of above a hundred and twenty from them and they have reckon'd upwards of a hundred and fifty to us by bits of leaves. Thirteen of these are said to be high or hilly, such as To'fooa and O'ooa or Middleburgh, and thirty seven large, of which I cannot tell any other method to determine the size than by saying they must all be larger than Anna'mooka which is rank'd amongst the smaller isles. Of these Va'vaoo has already been mentioned as lying N° E¼ly from Hapaee, which is said to have a good harbour, is free from shoals and seems to be a pretty considerable place from their frequent mention of it. Ha'môâ again is more northerly and is said to be even larger than Tonga, which however has conquerd it and Poulaho frequently resides in this Island.[1] It is high and has good water, producing every thing found at Tonga in the greatest abundance. The manners of the people & their Language begin to alter here for they do not bury their dead as at Tonga but expose them to consume on a sort of scaffolds. Their songs & dances, some of which have been adopted at Tonga, are also different; & as we have seen houses built after the model of those of Hamôâ it

[1] This last information is wrong. Tongan forces did conquer Samoa, or part of it, from perhaps the end of the 12th century, and the Tu'i Tongas did spend some time there; but they were driven out about the middle of the 13th century. Later Tongan rulers sometimes visited the group, but it does not appear that any of them did so in the 18th century. Possibly Anderson's informants were giving their own country 'a good build-up'.

/219 cont./

287 this a second layer of tapa (lauolunga) (consisting of feta'aki), (574)
386
(381)

574. The individual feta'aki are properly trimmed as they are laid in place.

which is pressed on (glued) and rubbed with the color-scrap soaked with koka dye, so that on the now brownish surface the darker brown patterns of the printing panels stand out in contrast. With paint-brushes (fo'i fa) (pandanus fruit) the women draw over the individual patterns. When they have finished painting the length of the tapa (575)

(412)

575. They straighten the edge of it with a knife or with scissors.

on the "drum," they pull it down far enough so that on its longitudinal edge more feta'aki pieces can be glued, layered, dyed and painted, whereupon the process is repeated again and again, so that on one side of the drum a longer and longer length of two-ply, dyed and painted tapa builds up. On both edges, which remain uncolored, the women (802) always paint the number of the segment in arabic numerals; one segment 287 is always two hand-spans wide. A finished tapa length is about 20 to 27 meters long and 3.70 to 4.40 meters wide. For special purposes (for example, as a gift to the sovereign) they make tapas that are more than 100 meters long.

The glued and dyed tapa lengths are spread out with the colored side uppermost to dry in the sun. The women also lay them in the grass in front of their dwellings before sunrise, so that the dew (and thereafter the sun) can make the bast cloth "strong and beautiful."

287 The final operation is the redrawing of the decorations on the
531 printing panels. This the owner (576)
386

576. The owner of such a long tapa is always the woman who furnished the necessary raw tapa (feta'aki); the kautaha works for each of its members in turn (see pp. 137-140).

(422)
(476)